

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

## DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

## THE OUTLOOK.

The last week has been a busy one for the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and has included three great demonstrations. Of these the first was held on Wednesday, July 15, on Clapham Common. There were three platforms and an audience of from 20,000 to 30,000 people, who listened with attention to the speakers, and showed their interest in the movement by their enthusiastic support of the resolution and by purchasing a

large number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and other literature offered by the organisers of the meeting.

### Nottingham Forest.

The second great demonstration was held in Nottingham Forest on Saturday last, and was attended by about 30,000 people, most of whom were thoroughly favourable to the cause. Of this demonstration entirely misleading reports have appeared in the National Press, which would lead readers to suppose that the opposition practically silenced the speakers. The exact contrary was the case. At six out of eight platforms there was practically no opposition of any kind, and the speeches were listened to with great attention. Even at the remaining two, where an organised gang of rowdies attempted to create a disturbance, they did not effect more than an unpleasant series of interruptions. We give in another column an account reproduced from the "Nottingham Express," which, as a local paper presented to local readers, has to preserve accuracy upon main lines, which substantiates our statement.

### Heaton Park, Manchester.

The third demonstration was held in Heaton Park, Manchester, on Sunday last, and according to the "Manchester Evening Chronicle," was the largest demonstration ever held in Heaton Park. The numbers estimated by the police were 150,000. In this case complete order prevailed, and great enthusiasm was manifested by the audience, who carried the resolution with scarcely a dissentient voice.

### Demonstrations in Prospect.

Other great meetings in prospect are the demonstration at Earl's Court, London, on Saturday next, where there will be six platforms; the demonstration on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, on Sunday, where there will be ten platforms; the demonstration in Leicester on Thursday next, where there will be five platforms; and in Bristol on September 19 on Clifton Downs. These great meetings throughout the provinces have done and will do for the other parts of England what the great Hyde Park meeting on June 21 did for the metropolis.

### The Queen's Hall "At Home."

Space does not permit reference to the great number of smaller meetings which are being held every day up and down the country by the Women's Social and Political Union. A list will be found in the Programme of Events each week. Mention must be made, however, of the enthusiastic meeting in the Queen's Hall at the weekly "At Home" on Monday last, when Mrs. Pankhurst appealed for financial assistance to render the work of the Union effective in every part of the country. A magnificent response was forthcoming from the meeting. Miss Mordan undertook to give a sum equal to the whole of the rest of the contributions on that day from the audience. Lady Knyvett promptly started the ball-rolling by giving £5. This was followed by Miss Le Lacheur sending up a promise to contribute £5 for every week during the time the prisoners were in prison. This, as the Treasurer explained, amounted to the splendid sum of



£65 in all. Additions and promises quickly came from all parts of the hall, and in a few minutes £240 was subscribed, which, together with a collection of £19, brought the total to £260; thus, taking into account the generous promise of Miss Mordan, over £500 was raised towards the furtherance of the suffrage campaign.

#### Militant Action.

Turning to the more militant side of the woman suffrage policy, the Pembroke by-election showed a remarkable loss of votes to the Liberal candidate, the majority being reduced from 3,280 to 2,174, making a reduction which, if it were repeated in other parts of the country, would reduce the Liberal majority in the House of Commons below vanishing point. At Port Sunlight, during the speech of Mr. Birrell, two women made protests upon the exclusion of votes for women from the Government programme, and were ejected from the meeting amid considerable tumult.

#### The Prisoners in Holloway.

The Home Secretary still holds out in his determination to allow the Woman's Suffrage prisoners to be subjected to the full rigour of the law in Holloway, but it is evident from the number of questions that have been asked in the House of Commons that his action is bringing the Government into considerable disrepute. Meanwhile, in a special article contributed to the "Manchester Guardian," a legal expert gives his view upon the sentences inflicted upon the women, which he declares to be creating an evil precedent; and on Monday last, Mr. Pearce introduced a Bill into the House of Commons to render any such sentences by magistrates illegal in the future.

#### Mr. Asquith and the Constitutional Suffragists.

Correspondence has taken place between the Constitutional Suffragists and Mr. Asquith, in which the former asked the Premier to receive a deputation from the National Union of Suffrage Societies. This Mr. Asquith refused, saying that he thought no useful purpose would be served by his receiving a deputation. Miss Frances Hardcastle, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, replies in a letter to the Press, in the course of which she says:—

We had been encouraged by a member of the Cabinet to believe that the Prime Minister would consent, after the great demonstration of June 13, to receive a deputation from the Constitutional Suffragists. A letter to that effect was addressed on June 29 by a Cabinet Minister to one of the chief members of our executive committee. Our application to Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation, however, met with the curt refusal quoted above, and this was followed almost immediately by his contemptuous reference to Women's Suffrage at the Bar dinner last Friday.

Surely no body of voters pressing by constitutional means for a great reform would have been so cavalierly treated by a Prime Minister. It almost suggests the thought that Mr. Asquith wishes to discredit Women's Suffrage by encouraging unconstitutional methods of agitation.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst comments upon this correspondence in another part of this paper.

#### "Votes for Women" Newspaper.

A committee has been formed to further the circulation of the paper. Those who are interested should send in their names to me, care of N.W.S.P.U., at 4, Clements Inn. A committee meeting will be held in Mrs. Drummond's office every Tuesday, at 3 o'clock.

Any good suggestion to augment the sale will be gladly received. Ladies can assist by going round to their newsagents and asking them to sell the paper and exhibit a bill, but before doing this they should consult with me.

Ladies who can go out to sell the paper are invited to be at this office any morning at 11 o'clock.

VERA L. HOLME.

### N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

#### Suffrage Fete at Earl's Court.

A special demonstration and *fête* will be held in London at the Hungarian Exhibition, Earl's Court, on Saturday next, July 25, and members and friends are urged to do all they can to make the demonstration a success. Further particulars will be found on page 324. Several hundred women will be wanted to act as literature sellers and stewards. White dresses should be worn, with regalia or rosettes. Please communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### Demonstrations in the Provinces.

Great demonstrations are also to be held in different parts of the country. The principal of those which have been arranged up to the present time are as follows:—Leeds, on Sunday next, July 26; and Bristol, on Clifton Downs, on Saturday, September 19.

#### Dates of Prisoners' Release.

On Friday week, July 31, the first batch of prisoners, sentenced for one month from July 1, will be released from Holloway. Friends are invited to meet them outside the gates of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning.

Tickets for brakes from Holloway to Queen's Hall may be obtained at 4, Clements Inn, price 9d. Application should be made at once.

It has been arranged to provide them with a complimentary breakfast at Queen's Hall at 9.15. Tickets for the breakfast, open to all friends and sympathisers, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Price, 2s. each. After the breakfast, speeches will be delivered by the ex-prisoners and others. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Miss New and Mrs. Leigh, who were sentenced to two months' imprisonment on July 1, will be released from Holloway on Saturday morning, August 22, and those who are in prison for three months will remain in Holloway until Wednesday, September 16. Arrangements for welcoming these prisoners will be announced later.

#### "At Homes" in the Queen's Hall.

The last of the summer "At Homes" will be held on Monday, July 27, in the large Queen's Hall, Langham-place, from 3 to 5. Admission is free, and all friends and those interested in the movement are cordially invited. Speeches will be given in the course of each afternoon by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others.

An "At Home" will also be held to-night and next Thursday evening, in the small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, from 8 to 10. Visitors are invited.

The series of weekly "At Homes," both the Monday afternoons and the Thursday evenings, will be suspended during August, and will be resumed in September at the Portman Rooms. The afternoon "At Homes" will be held in the large rooms (entrance in Baker-street) every Monday afternoon commencing September 7, and the evening "At Homes" in the small rooms (entrance in Dorset-street) every Thursday evening, commencing September 3.

#### Albert Hall Meeting.

Arrangements are already being made for the autumn campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union. A great meeting is to be held in the Albert Hall, on Thursday, October 29. Tickets are already on sale:—Amphitheatre stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; gallery and upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.; and boxes at various prices, can be obtained from the ticket secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Application should be made early for tickets. Friends who are going away for their summer holidays are recommended to buy tickets before they go away, and are also urged to take tickets with them to sell to those whom they are likely to meet on their holidays.

#### The Union Colours.

The colours of the Union are still in great demand, and can be obtained from the offices of the Union, and from many leading drapers. Ribbon of two widths at a shilling and at ninepence a yard, badges at one penny each, and scarves at 2s. 11d. each. Every member is invited to co-operate in "popularising the colours."

An enterprising firm has also brought out National Women's Social and Political Union ties, which are in the colours of the Union, and are very charming in appearance. They can be had for 1s. each, either from the offices of the Union itself, or from many shops which are beginning to stock the National Women's Social and Political Union colours.



## THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XVII.—*Some Improvement in the Status of Women.*

In the last chapter we saw that after many years of unsuccessful labour a Women's Suffrage Bill had passed a second reading in 1886. But as we know, the Bill was blocked.

Though nothing practical had been gained on behalf of women's enfranchisement, the position of women generally had been somewhat improved by several minor concessions that had been wrung from the Legislature. In 1885 the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which, among other things, had raised the age of protection for girls from 13 to 16 years, had been passed. Before this measure had become law a violent agitation, lasting over many months, had been carried on. This had culminated in the prosecution of Mr. W. T. Stead, who had published a series of articles in the "Pall Mall Gazette," dealing with the revelations of a "Secret Commission" of inquiry into alleged abuses. As a result of the trial, which lasted three weeks, Mr. Stead was sent to prison as a first-class misdemeanant for three months, but by the time this happened the Bill had already become law. It is interesting to note that in the Isle of Man, where women were in possession of votes for the House of Keys, the age up to which girls were protected by law was shortly afterwards raised, not to 16, as in England, but to 18 years.

In 1886, a measure to amend the law relating to the custody and guardianship of children was carried. An active movement in support of this reform had been started three years before, owing, mainly, to the sympathy that had been aroused by the cruel decision in the Agar-Ellis case. This case was that of a young lady who had petitioned to be allowed to spend her summer holidays with her mother, from whom she had been separated from no fault of her own or her mother's, but simply at her father's wish. Miss Agar-Ellis, though legally in her father's custody, was not living with him, so that the granting of her wish would not have deprived him of her society. Nevertheless, the Court refused her petition on the ground that the rights of the father must be upheld.

But though the Agar-Ellis case obtained considerable publicity, and helped to give an impetus to the movement for reform, it was unfortunately in no sense unique. A case came before the Dublin Police Court, on September 1, 1886, in which a man named McGriel had placed his four children—two boys and two girls—in a well-known Protestant institution at Kingstown, called the "Bird's Nest." Having done this, McGriel deserted his wife. Mrs. McGriel was a Roman Catholic, and some time after her husband had decamped, she went, accompanied by another woman, to the "Nest," and stated her intention of removing the children. This the superintendent refused to allow, and finally Mrs. McGriel broke a large hole in one of the windows, and, in defiance of the officials, succeeded in passing three of her children through the opening to a friendly crowd that had collected outside. The oldest child, a boy of eleven, was taken from her, and Mrs. McGriel herself was arrested for having broken the window, but her companion succeeded in escaping to Dublin with the three younger children.

Next day Mrs. McGriel was brought into Court, but the magistrate, Mr. Key, discharged her, saying that she had evidently been influenced by "strong maternal feelings."

In this case the mother had boldly taken the law into her own hands, and by so doing, had secured the custody

of three of her children, though one of them was still detained from her, and brought up in a religion in which she did not believe. But there must have been many women who were far less fortunate.

It was cruel enough that a mother should have no right to the custody and guardianship of her children during her husband's lifetime, but in those days, even after the father's death, his rights were still held to be supreme. He might by will appoint any guardian or guardians that he wished, and might, if he chose, pass over his wife—the mother of the children. If the father neglected to appoint a testamentary guardian the mother was then recognised, but in the event of her own death, she had no power to appoint a guardian for her children unless she had been specially authorised to do so by her husband's will.

In Scotland the rights of the father passed at once to his nearest male relative, who became the *tutor* of the children, and had the right to regulate their lives and direct their education. In England, even where the mother was appointed sole guardian, she was bound to bring up her children according to the views and religious beliefs of her husband, whatever her own opinions might happen to be. If she neglected to do this any third person might apply to the Court either for the appointment of a joint guardian, who would compel her to obey or to have the children altogether removed from her custody.

The agitation, which was mainly organised by Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, for a change in this unjust law began in the autumn of 1883, and on February 6, 1884, Mr. James Bryce brought in a Bill. The most important feature of this Bill was that it proposed to make the father and mother joint and equal guardians of their children. In the event of either parent dying, the survivor was to become the sole guardian. The Bill passed the second reading on March 26 by 208 votes to 73, but its principle was almost entirely destroyed in committee, and by the time it had passed through the Lords, back to the Commons, and had then been again amended in the House of Lords, but little of the original measure had been left.

The Infants Bill, which became law on June 25, 1886, provides that a widowed mother shall be the legal guardian of her children either alone or jointly with any guardian appointed by the father. If he has appointed no guardian the High Court of Justice may choose one to act jointly with the mother.

### Many Existing Injustices.

Since the passing of the Act power has been given to a mother to appoint by death or will a guardian to act jointly with the father in the event of her death. But the Court will not confirm this unless the father be shown to be unfit to have the sole care of his children. A mother whilst living with her husband may apply to the Court on any question affecting the custody of her child, or the right of access to it, and the Court is directed to have regard to the welfare of the child, to the conduct of the parents, and to the wishes of the mother as well as of the father. These small concessions are all that have been obtained. The father, during his lifetime, has still the sole right to decide as to the children's education, religion, and place of residence. A mother has no right to the custody of her children. Her husband can separate them from her altogether, and the law will only help her to rejoin them if it can be proved that they have suffered severe physical or mental injury from the father's treatment, or if his conduct has been such as to entitle her to a separation.

(To be continued.)



## SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION IN EARL'S COURT.

VOTES FOR WOMEN FETE IN THE HUNGARIAN EXHIBITION, ON SATURDAY, JULY 25th.

Preparations for the demonstration and fête in the Earl's Court Exhibition for Saturday next are proceeding apace, and one of the greatest and most delightful days in the Suffrage movement is already assured. The novelty of the proposal and the special interest attaching to a suffrage demonstration inside the walls of an exhibition are attracting considerable notice, and it is certain that the speeches to be made by the leaders of the movement from different parts of the grounds will draw together a large number of people.

There will be an attractive display of a number of the banners used in the processions to Hyde Park on June 21.

Not only will the demonstration be interesting as a means of propaganda, but it is hoped that the funds of the Union will be very much enhanced as a result. An arrangement has been made by which the N.W.S.P.U. takes an equal share with the

the general public. A great muster of our members is expected for this work. Those who have not already done so should send their names to Mrs. Drummond, 4, Clements-inn, W.C. There will be a division of the corps attached to each platform. As far as possible, women should dress in white, as on the great day in Hyde Park, and their regalia or badges should be worn.

### Arrangements for Tea.

Those wishing to make up luncheon or tea parties would do well to secure tables on arriving at the Exhibition or by postcard beforehand. As far as possible seats for tea will be reserved for suffragists in the Quadrant Restaurant, Western Gardens. Postcards should be headed "W.S.P.U."

The admission to the Exhibition is 1s., but children when accompanied by their parents or other adult friends, will be



THE HUNGARIAN STREET.

proprietors of the Exhibition of the money received at the gates in excess of the average "gate money" of the Exhibition.

### The Platforms.

One of the most interesting of the platforms will be that in the Hungarian street. By the kindness of the managers of the Exhibition we are able to present to our readers an illustration of this part of Earl's Court. Another of the platforms will be built upon boats in the middle of the lake. Three other platforms will be formed of the bandstands in the various courts, and a sixth will be arranged as space permits. In this way it will be possible for a very large number of people to hear the different speakers. In between the meetings the bands will play, and all the varied entertainments of the Exhibition will be able to be enjoyed by those attending.

Among the speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Drummond, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and there will be speaking both at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and at 8.30 in the evening.

### Corps of Literature Sellers.

An interesting feature of the fête will be the corps of literature sellers of the N.W.S.P.U., which will introduce the paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, the pamphlets, postcards, &c., to the attention of

admitted free—a rule which does not, of course, apply to schools.

The entrance to the Exhibition most used is that in Warwick-road, outside Earl's Court Station. There are also four other entrances, namely, one at North End-road, two in Lillie-road, by the two West Brompton Stations, and one at West Kensington Station, from platform or street.

At many of the stations on the District and Tube railways tickets can be obtained which include admission to the Exhibition.

### Features of the Exhibition.

In the Exhibition are to be found striking instances of Hungary's natural fertility and rich mineral resources, as well as most interesting evidence of the high cultivation to which she has brought her agriculture and forestry.

By examples, both in scenery and in views, the Hungarian Government has designed to bring home to Western Europe the great beauties of her natural scenery, especially of the Carpathian Highlands, which vie with the beauties of Switzerland.

The most interesting feature, however, of the whole Exhibition is the display of Hungarian and Croatian peasant industries. As the mass of the population is agriculturists the winter months, for centuries past, have been given up to the making of implements, pottery, furniture, lace, linen, costumes, rugs, carpets, and all kinds of woven materials. As the



designs are usually outlined in charcoal and the details left to spring from the fancy of the worker, there is a charming variety in this peasant work. In the Croatian collection are to be seen specimens of work from as far back as the fifteenth century, including old Gobelin technique, the Coptic technique, and true filigree work.

The productions of one village will quite differ from those of another. For instance, in certain villages the women and girls have for centuries been used to dress in nothing but white, and to do part of their work by filigree. More than two winters are needed to make one of these costumes.

A great display of the Hungarian peasant handiwork, collected by a committee of ladies presided over by Countess Louis Batthyanyi, is shown in four of the cottages in the Hungarian street, of which we give a view above.

All the buildings in this street are reproductions selected from towns and villages in different parts of the country.

Hungary, a nation of music-lovers, which gave Liszt, Joachim, Hubay, and Richter to the world, has not, of course, neglected to provide music for the enjoyment of the visitors to its Exhibition.

## LEEDS DEMONSTRATION, SUNDAY, JULY 26.

**AT HOMES**—61, Manningham-lane, Bradford, every Monday,  
at 8 p.m.; Leeds, Arts Club, 8, Blenheim-  
terrace, 8 p.m.

For effect and economy, the demonstration tickets have been printed on rolls like tram tickets, and can be disposed of by the yard! Yards are being disposed of at each meeting.

The arrangements for the demonstration are as follows:—

There will be two processions, one leaving Town Hall-square at about 2.45, the other, consisting of Bradford supporters, leaving City-square at 2.40, and joining the Leeds procession before it starts from the Town Hall-square. The route is the most direct one—along Park-lane, Cookridge-street, and Woodhouse-lane, to the Moor. We are to have two bands for the Leeds procession, and one to head the Bradford contingent. The carts to be used as platforms will go in the procession draped in the colours of our Union.

On the Moor the procession will divide into three sections. First section:—Platform 1: Speakers, Miss Hartop and Miss Keevil. Platform 2: Miss Foster and Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe. Platform 3: Miss Newton and Miss Nell Kenney. Second section:—Platform 4: Mrs. Swailes and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Platform 5: Miss Hartland, Mrs. Pankhurst. Platform 6: Miss Annie Kenney. Platform 7: Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Third section:—Platform 8: Miss Brook and Mrs. Baines. Platform 9: Mrs. Massey and Mrs. Drummond.

The meeting will not commence until about 3.45. At 4.50 the waving of a flag from the conning tower will be the signal to put the resolution. When carried, another signal will be given for three cheers for "Votes for Women," after which we shall break up.

Many successful meetings have been held this week in Leeds and Bradford, our staff of speakers having grown to considerable strength, with Miss Foster, Miss Hartop, Mrs. Swailes, and Mrs. Belshaw as practised speakers and several beginners in Leeds, and Miss Hartland, Miss Dawson, Mrs. Goodison, and others in Bradford.

New ground was broken last week, meetings being held in the Primitive Methodist School, Bramley, at Bramley Grove, Holbeck Moor, and other places. An indoor meeting was held at Cross-gates, Leeds, on Thursday night, where Miss Foster and I spoke; and Miss Pearson, Miss Campbell, and myself held a meeting outside the Airedale Clothing factory in Roundhay-lane, Leeds, on Tuesday, at noon.

ADELA PANKHURST.

## PEMBROKE BY-ELECTION.

Walter F. Roch (L.) .. .. .	5,465
J. Lort Williams (C.) .. .. .	3,293
Liberal Majority .. .. .	2,172

The above was the result of the Pembroke County election, which took place on Thursday last, July 16. The Liberal majority in 1906 having been 3,280 the by-election figures show a reduction of 1,108 in the Ministerial majority, in one of its most impregnable strongholds, and at a time when the Licensing Bill is making a particularly powerful appeal to the Welsh people. A similar loss of votes throughout the country would end the present Government's tenure of office.

## The Fighting Suffragist to the Frightened Politician.

"Why can they not be satisfied with constitutional methods?"—

MRS. ASQUITH.

Through sixty years of days and nights,  
Our mothers fought a quiet campaign;  
Petitioned humbly for their rights—  
In vain.

They worked and waited long and late,  
For justice to a Suffrage Bill:  
Their hair grows white, and they are wait-  
ing still!

No "patient" methods now for us,  
No empty pledge shall take us in;  
It is the folks who make a fuss  
That win.

Oh, gentlemen, who make our laws,  
While we sit mum behind the grill—  
You say we should behave—like men.  
We will!

We've proved we'll never get from you  
The vote because it's just and right:  
There is but one thing left to do—  
To fight.

You think by "pledges" you may buy  
A respite from our tactics rough?  
No, thank you, gentlemen, we've had  
Enough!

The future's much too vaguely planned,  
Too "speculative and remote"—  
We've paid our taxes, and demand  
Our vote.

WINIFRED AULD.

## Rossendale Valley.

Miss Brook and I are still preaching our gospel of "Votes for Women," and are winning all along the line. Although this week has been very wet, it is remarkable how the crowds will stand to hear every word.

Our work takes us in many towns, some of which are desolate and full of slums and misery. This does not apply to Port Sunlight, which Miss Brook and I visited last Saturday. Mr. Birrell was holding a meeting at Port Sunlight, and Miss Brook and myself were present. During his address, he referred to giving justice to Ireland, when I arose to my feet and reminded him that the women of England also wanted justice. The cry was, "Throw her out," whilst several sympathisers called, "She's quite right." As usual I was ejected. In another ten minutes Miss Brook rose and read from their own hymn sheet those two beautiful lines:—

"Grant to womanhood the justice  
England should be proud to give."

But she soon followed me. Several well-dressed Liberal stewards used very coarse language, but this eventually won for us many admirers, who realised our fight is just and are amazed at the stupidity of the Liberal Government who are losing their best women workers.

(Mrs.) JENNIE BAINES.

## PRISON REGULATIONS.

Prisoners who are serving a term of one month in Holloway will be released on Friday morning, July 31; the two women who have been sentenced to a term of two months will be released on Saturday morning, August 22; those who are imprisoned for three months will remain in Holloway until Wednesday, September 16.

According to prison regulations, persons serving a sentence of one month or less in the second-class are not entitled to receive any visits from friends, or to have any correspondence with them. Special permission to visit may, however, sometimes be obtained by making special application at the Home Office, Whitehall, or through a Member of Parliament.

Persons whose sentences exceed a month are entitled to a visit at the end of a month, and on that occasion not more than three friends are allowed to go together to see the prisoner. The prisoner is also entitled to write a letter at the end of a month's imprisonment, and a reply to that letter may be sent to the prison, and will be given to the prisoner.



## THE SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS AND MR. GLADSTONE.

The Home Secretary has not been left in peace during the week in the matter of the sentences upon the women who took part in the proceedings on June 30.

**Monday, July 13.**

Mr. Gladstone, in reply to Mr. Hart-Davies, stated that he was unable to reconsider his decision not to suggest to the magistrate that the Suffragists recently arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in the second division should be transferred to the first division.

Mr. Byles: Is the right hon. gentleman satisfied that these punishments do not go far beyond anything which has the sanction of public opinion?

Mr. MacNeill: Has the right hon. gentleman read the statement of Mr. Logan, a former member of this House, in reference to the indignities inflicted on his own daughter in this case? Is he aware that this lady has not been permitted to have communication with anyone, but has been kept in a solitary state for 23 hours out of the 24 and that she has not been allowed to read?

No answer was returned to either question.

**Tuesday, July 14.**

Mr. Lehmann asked the Home Secretary whether he could now see his way to consult with the magistrate who sentenced them with a view to the mitigation of their punishment.

Mr. Gladstone: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. Byles: Do not these punishments go far beyond anything which has the sanction of public opinion?

Mr. Gladstone: I hardly think that is a question the hon. member should put to me.

Mr. MacNeill: Is the right hon. gentleman not aware that this course of punishment is abhorrent to the feelings of this House, whose servant he is?

Mr. Hay: Why does the right hon. gentleman in these cases refuse to make representations to the magistrate, when he made representations in almost similar cases?

Mr. Gladstone: I have already answered that question several times. It may be that originally I was rash in making the representation which I did; but I made it under the special circumstances of the case, having regard to the fact that it was the first occasion on which the disturbances had arisen, and to the fact that the omission of the magistrate to state the division was accidental. But, as I say, it is no part of my duty to interfere with the discretion of the magistrate.

Mr. Alden: Are not these quasi-political offences, and is not this punishment going beyond the law?

Mr. Gladstone: Does my hon. friend then suggest that political murder should not be punished?

Mr. Alden: I am only alluding to the question of precedents. I believe there are no precedents whatever.

Mr. Summerbell asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if on the 30th ultimo a superintendent and an inspector of police attended the suffragette meeting at Caxton Hall, and informed the leaders of the women that they had come to escort the deputation to the House of Commons, and made arrangements for this purpose and escorted them to the House; and, if so, can he state why it was that the deputation was not received after making all these arrangements.

Mr. Gladstone wrote in reply that it was merely in order to facilitate the deputation's passage that the Superintendent of the A Division arranged to escort them to the House and to escort them back again when they had received a verbal reply to their verbal message.

**Wednesday, July 15.**

In reply to Mr. Swift MacNeill,

Mr. Gladstone said the suffragist prisoners were treated as all other prisoners in the second division. They were in separate confinement for about 22½ hours out of the 24, one hour being given to exercise and about half an hour to chapel. They wore the authorised dress for the second division and were given the same diet as offenders of the first division who did not maintain themselves. They were not allowed to converse with each other, nor to receive letters until they had been in prison one month. They were allowed two library books a week. They might read these at meal times and after working hours. This punishment differed from that of prisoners convicted of heinous crimes in several particulars. The diet of the latter was not so good and for the first days not so plentiful. They were not allowed letters until they had served two months, and they were not allowed library books until they had served one month, and then only one per week. They were not altogether separated from other criminals. There were 21 of the suffragist prisoners on Tuesday, but as any of them could secure

release at any time by giving security for good behaviour, he could not say whether the number was the same now. He could not advise the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Are these ladies whom the right hon. gentleman has termed criminals compelled to wear the prison clothes formerly worn by women criminals?

Mr. Gladstone: They are under the rules which govern the second division.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: But, as a matter of fact, have they worn the cast-off clothes of other prisoners?

Mr. Gladstone: I really cannot say. Of course new clothes cannot be supplied to all prisoners who come in. But every care is taken to keep the supply in perfect cleanliness.

Mr. W. Redmond: Are these ladies compelled to take whatever exercise they get practically in association with those who are convicted of ordinary criminal offences?

Mr. Gladstone: No, that is not the case. They are kept apart from the ordinary prisoners.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Do I understand that there is a separate exercise yard for these prisoners? Do not these ladies simply march round with the ordinary prisoners?

Mr. Gladstone: They are kept away from association with ordinary prisoners.

Mr. Cathcart Wason asked if the offence of these ladies was not an ordinary political offence, caused, among other things, by the speech of the right hon. gentleman himself, and in the circumstances, would he not think it advisable to treat these women as first-class misdemeanants.

There was no answer.

Mr. G. S. Bowles: Has the right hon. gentleman any reason to believe that any of these ladies has herself made any complaint?

Mr. Gladstone: I have received no complaint.

Mr. Leif Jones: May I ask what object is served in limiting the number of books?

Mr. Gladstone: That is a very proper question, if put in regard to the prison rules generally. I am not at all satisfied that the rule is a good one, but I don't see that the question necessarily arises in regard to these ladies.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Are not the books only goody-goody Sunday school books? (Laughter.)

The Speaker: Order, order. Any further questions had better be set down.

**Monday, July 20.**

Mr. Herbert Samuel, answering Mr. MacNeill, said if there was any complaint that shoes did not fit or caused trouble they would be immediately changed. No such complaint had been made.

Mr. MacNeill: In point of fact is the hon. gentleman not aware that these ladies make no complaint?

Mr. Herbert Samuel: I fail to see how a grievance can be remedied unless it is brought to the attention of the authorities.

**"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," July 20.**

(From a Legal Correspondent.)

One important point seems so far not to have been noticed in connection with the sentences on the Suffragette prisoners. They are, in default of finding sureties, suffering a heavier penalty than could have been inflicted on them if they had actually been found guilty of sedition. For by the Prisons Act of 1898, which re-enacts an older provision in the Prisons Act of 1875, a person imprisoned for sedition or seditious libel must be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. From this it follows that certain magistrates, with the Home Secretary's acquiescence, are inflicting on these women, who are at the outside guilty of a very trifling political disturbance, a punishment which could not have been inflicted on them if they were persons who had incited an armed resistance to the law.

The spirit if not the letter of the Prisons Act certainly suggests that even grave political offences stand in a different category from that in which other political crimes stand, and it would be only equitable on the part of the magistrates, in exercising that discretion under the same Act which permits them to decide whether a person who refuses to give security shall be placed in the first or second division, to remember that the Act which gives them this discretion itself draws a very marked distinction between political and other offences, and to give to the small political offender the mild treatment which the law obliges them to give the great one.

The mistake which they have made in taking the severer course is natural and, in a sense, excusable in men whose position keeps them apart from active political life, and who naturally look at all offences from the point of view of the criminal lawyer and the



policeman. To them the Suffragettes probably appear simply troublesome children, just as the early Puritans struck the Elizabethan judges as wanton disturbers of the peace. It is, as we have said, perfectly natural that metropolitan magistrates, one of whom admitted in the columns of the "Times" that he did not follow political events, should take such a view. But this only lays the greater responsibility on the Home Secretary. He at least is a statesman, and he understands the suffrage question. Moreover, he is a Liberal, and he must know that to treat indiscreet political reformers as criminals is to outrage every Liberal sentiment and to condemn some of his own father's noblest acts.

It may be true, as he says, that technically he has no power to modify the sentences which the magistrates have passed; but he has the power to advise them, and it is his duty to bring the serious political aspects of the question to their minds. Further, he has the right, as the holder of the Royal prerogative of mercy, to remit or modify the sentences. If he fails to take either course he will have indeed created an evil precedent.

The fact that for political offences of a really childish character English girls were treated as criminals with the tacit sanction of a Liberal Minister may easily be used by the Tory party and the Tory Press in years to come to justify harsh measures of repression against offenders of a different character, which Mr. Gladstone would be the first to condemn.

### POLITICAL OFFENCES BILL.

Mr. Robert Pearce, M.P., of Daylight Saving fame, has taken a step which will be welcomed by a large number of members of the House of Commons as solving the problem of how to deal with the Suffragists who go to prison. Mr. Pearce yesterday introduced a Political Offenders Bill, which provides that "every person undergoing imprisonment in consequence of an offence of a political character shall be detained and treated as a first-class misdemeanant only, unless such offence has been committed with damage to property or grievous bodily harm to any person."

The members backing the Bill are Mr. Thomas Burt, Mr. Cobbold, Mr. C. H. Corbett, Mr. Gulland, Mr. Kettle, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. P. Snowden, Mr. H. Y. Stanger, and Mr. Osmond Williams.

In reference to this measure Mr. Pearce told our Lobby correspondent that the following memorandum would be circulated with it:—

"There are 25 girls or women now in Holloway Prison undergoing imprisonment, without the status of first-class misdemeanants, as the sequel to, and in consequence of, offences of a political character. Many men, and other women, have been similarly incarcerated. The Bill is founded on the definition of 'an offence of a political character,' namely, an offence incidental to, and part of, a political disturbance, laid down by the Court of Queen's Bench in *ex parte Castioni*, 1891, which was a case of extradition for murder in which Court ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty. The Bill seeks to limit the discretionary power of the magistrate, and reduce the punishment of such offenders to practically mere detention, unless she or he has been guilty of damage to property or grievous bodily harm to any person."—*Daily News*, July 21.



## ELIZABETH.

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### PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

#### Queen Victoria's Nurses.

A meeting of the Council of the Queen Victoria Jubilee Institute for Nurses was held last week, Mr. Harry Boulton, M.V.O., presiding. Reports were read from the various committees, particular attention being given to that of the special committee appointed to consider how the ever-increasing demand for Queen's nurses was to be met. At the present time the supply of trained nurses for district work is far short of the supply, and efforts are being made to raise more funds in order to remedy this state of affairs.

#### Freedom of Bournemouth Conferred on a Woman.

As was announced in an earlier number of VOTES FOR WOMEN, the Borough Council of Bournemouth recently decided to confer the honorary freedom of the Borough on Mr. and Mrs. Merton Russell Cotes, in recognition of their generous gift to the town of the lease of East Cliff Hall for an art gallery and museum. This interesting ceremony took place on Wednesday of last week, when the Mayor presented Mr. and Mrs. Russell Cotes with the resolution of the Council conferring the honorary freedom. The resolution was beautifully illuminated on vellum, and contained in a handsomely decorated silver-gilt casket. Mrs. Russell Cotes is the first lady to inscribe her name on the roll of Bournemouth freemen.

#### Women as Soldiers.

The following letter has been sent to the Secretary of State for War, by an energetic lady. Mr. Haldane's reply has not been published:—

(Copy.)

To the Right Hon. R. B. Haldane, M.P., Secretary of State for War.  
SIR,—In view of the difficulty I understand you are experiencing in raising a sufficiency of recruits for the Territorial Army, I should be glad to know whether you would be prepared to enrol competent women in the force. If so, I think funds can be privately raised to enable a trial to be made to demonstrate to your satisfaction their capacity to discharge those duties which would be required of them in defence of their homes and country, thus setting at liberty more men for the more onerous work of foreign service. I have, Sir, the honour to be,

Very faithfully yours,

ETHEL G. EVEREST.

Chippens Bank, Hever, Kent,  
June 26.

#### Paris Suffragette Fined.

Last Thursday Madame Pelletier, the French Suffragette who headed a "raid" on the polling booths at the recent municipal elections in France, appeared before the Correctional Court to answer a charge of window-breaking. As Madame Pelletier had been denied access to the polling booth, she had produced a stone from her pocket and hurled it through a window of the building. The judge who tried her took a lenient view of the case, and simply fined her 16f. (13s. 4d.), giving her the benefit of the First Offenders' Act.

#### The Late Mrs. Oliphant.

A memorial to Mrs. Oliphant, the well-known authoress, was unveiled last Thursday, in St. George's Cathedral, Edinburgh, by Mr. J. M. Barrie. The memorial is in the form of a bronze medallion bust, and bears the following inscription:—"That we may remember her genius and power as novelist, biographer, essayist, and historian."

#### Women Competitors at Bisley.

For several years past women have taken part in the competitions at Bisley, and many of them have put together very creditable scores. This year there are two ladies competing, namely, Mrs. Douglas, who is associated with the contingent of Malay Guides, and Mrs. Chapman, who enters into competition for the fourth year in succession.

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# The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."

Telephone 5550 Holborn

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Organising Sec.

## Constitution.

**OBJECTS.**—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

**METHODS.**—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

**MEMBERSHIP.**—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the *same terms* as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded about a million and a-half women will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a-half million men who are at present enfranchised.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed this Session.

## HOW IT WORKS OUT!

Crowds of people had streamed into the Park on the outskirts of Nottingham. They had come to see and hear the Suffragettes. They had now gathered round the eight platforms, and were for the most part listening to the women who had come to put before them, in a new form the old ideal of liberty and freedom, and the old conception of the dignity of the human individual and the sacredness of human life: ideals which have been in the past so potent to change and to make the history of mankind.

Upon each of the platforms a woman was standing to vindicate the claims of womanhood to citizenship, justice, and honour, while the people listened with thoughtful

attention. But around one platform there jostled and surged a yelling crowd of young men and boys. For here stood the woman who had been the first to call these great ideals out of their shrine in the past into the living present: the woman whose voice had rallied the women of to-day to this new battle of human liberty. And against her, as the leader of the movement, the concentrated opposition of the unthinking crowd was directed.

Above the babel and the din she stands calm, her voice can be heard by many who are eagerly straining attention to catch her words. Earnestly she pleads for justice for women, unmoved by the rushes that are being made upon her wagon, even when it shifts under the pressure of the roughs, until she catches sight of the white, frightened face of a little girl who is being crushed and hurt against one of the wheels. She cries out then to the crowd for protection for the child. The men laugh. They surge and sway possessed by the spirit of mischief, regardless of all appeal. Then leaning down she gives her two hands to the little girl, and lifts her to a place of safety beside her and calmly resumes her speech. She carries the meeting to its regular conclusion.

It was all over! It had been another great and successful demonstration. Nottingham was rubbing its eyes amazed at the strength of the agitation which could gather such crowds and hold them. I wondered what the tired woman who had borne the brunt of the battle was thinking. "We ought to have begun this movement ten years ago," she said, with quivering voice. "To think that we have allowed thousands of boys in every city to grow up to be like that!"

\* \* \* \*

Another scene. Away amongst the hills of Wales is a beautiful little hamlet, with its cottages and gardens, its chapel, its school, and its pretty village inn, everything suggestive of peace and happiness and friendly human fellowship. "A haven of rest!" Is it? I am going to quote from a letter which I received from Annie Kenney last week. It tells of what happened in this place a few days ago.

"Last night I had a rough time. The men in this village are all Liberals. I fought for a hearing, and I got it. But they were angry because they thought we were injuring the Liberal candidate. They threw dirt and grass-sods and an egg came flying and caught me on the side of the face and broke. In a moment my hair and face and white coat were stained, and the men howled with laughter. I pulled off my coat, dried my face, and stood before them and told them what I thought about it all. I said I could not blame them, because they were only following their leaders. Their leaders did not throw eggs, but they threw women into prison, and put them in prison dress; they tried to degrade their bodies, and to put shame upon them. It was the same thing.

"Their Liberal leaders talked to them of religious freedom; that was the cry of this by-election; yet they were the first to forget that there was within the body of man and woman a soul that no rudeness, no ignorance, no tyranny, no prison could touch.

"After the meeting was over I went down amongst them. I walked up to a group of men who had laughed when the egg came, and I said what I felt about them. They were full of shame. They could not look at me. They would have done anything for me after that.

"I went into the inn to ask for food. The woman came into the bar. I caught one glimpse of her face; it was enough to tell me all. Her eyes seemed to be pleading for help, her face was haggard, and her lips were blue with pain. She could scarcely speak. She clasped the rail of the counter, and said: "I am very ill, very ill."

"I longed to stay with her, but I had to go because of all the work that there was to do. Besides, I could not help her. A new life was about to enter the world, and the woman had to go down the way of death to meet it, for are not the gates of death close to the gates of birth, of which the woman holds the key?

"As I was going home my driver told me all about her. She had



already seven children. She had all the work of the house to do. One man had said to me that night: "You ought to have seven children. It's all you are fit for." All you are fit for! The greatest thing that can be given or suffered or done in the service of humanity!

"I could not forget that woman. All the way home I saw her in the small, dark room; the chatter and cries of the children in her ears; the clink of the glasses as the men came in for their beer; the laughter of the men as they told the story of the Suffragette with the smashed egg streaming down her face! I wondered how she would feel about it all, as she listened, longing for rest and peace and a quiet place where she could suffer alone. Poor, sad woman! And that was all she was worth! Life is nothing, suffering is nothing, the cost of life and the pain of child-bearing is nothing to these men. It is all that a woman is fit for!

"Then I realised that these men were born of a sex in utter subjection, and that is how it works out. Women are despised; their work, their service to the human race is disregarded.

"This election has saddened me. I never quite realised how far women had fallen. These sweet villages are not havens of rest. They seem to me, now that I know the life story of some of these women, to be little hells.

"One Liberal man told me it was a shame to get the men to vote against their religion. That, he said, was what the Suffragettes were doing. Religion! This man had ruined a girl in his own village, and in the very hour of her deepest misery and disgrace had married another woman. Yet he talks of religion! How bad it is that men should be allowed to think themselves superior to women. How wrong that there should be two moral standards, one for the dominant and one for the subjected half of humanity!"

Yes, it works out very badly. It works out to untold sorrow, to infinite degradation. It works out to despair in broken lives; it works out to madness and terrible tragedy.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Daisy Lord, twenty-two years of age, a single woman, employed at a laundry in Upper Norwood, was found guilty at Surrey Assizes yesterday of the murder of her newly-born child at her lodgings, Penwith-road, Thornton Heath, on February 10, and was sentenced to death."

I read that this morning in the newspaper.

That is what man-made civilisation means. The heedless brutality, the undisguised contempt for women, in which the boys of this generation are growing up leads straight to this awful gulf of the lost souls of women.

The disease is spreading from the highest to the lowest. Cabinet Ministers play the part of amused spectators, while women challenged to prove their earnestness protest against admitted tyranny and are arrested in consequence. They are dominated by the same spirit of cynical brutality as that which causes young men to yell with delight when they see the white face of a terrified child whose body they are crushing; the same spirit which makes men howl with laughter when a disgusting missile disfigures a solitary girl completely at their mercy, who is pleading in the name of the liberty they profess to love, for freedom for her sex; the same spirit that leads men to take no thought of the great price which women pay down daily for the life of humanity; the same spirit that has nothing but contempt for gentleness, nothing but laughter for helplessness, nothing but ridicule for those who are moved to wrath by the sight of injustice and wrong.

Only the freedom of women, only their recognised equality as citizens with men, will check the brutalising of our boys, the physical and moral degeneration of the manhood of this country. "Strong, gentle, and brave" shall the men and women be, the men and women of the future, who shall learn once more the old lesson of self-reverence, and standing on the same level of political citizenship shall practise that mutual respect and regard which in every society equals expect from each other. Women, be resolute to break your bonds now and vindicate the dignity of your womanhood, or you will see the human family sinking lower and lower with each successive generation to the moral barbarism from which in past ages it was lifted by the mothers of men.

**Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.**

## WHY WE USE MILITANT TACTICS.

The movement for Woman Suffrage has now reached a point when the question of tactics is of paramount importance. The work of educating the country is virtually complete, for the majority of men as well as of women support the enfranchisement of those women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote. One proof of this is the remarkable success of the Hyde Park demonstration and the other mass meetings now being held in the country. A gathering of more than 100,000 people at Manchester some days ago adopted with enthusiasm a resolution calling for the immediate enfranchisement of women. As every student of political history knows, for a cause to take firm root in Lancashire is the best possible augury of success. Not only is it in the industrial centres of the North, however, that the people are with us. In the remote county of Pembrokeshire there is almost unanimous support for this movement, and but for the rooted belief there prevailing that every reform must necessarily come through the Liberal party (a belief which survives even the Government's neglect of Welsh Dis-establishment), the Liberal candidate would have been defeated in the recent contest.

The same belief in Woman Suffrage is manifested in every part of the country, opposition from any, save "hooligans," being very rare. In short, none of the various measures which the Press and politicians are so industriously promoting are equal in popularity with this question of Woman Suffrage. But a favourable state of public opinion is not, in itself, enough to prompt the Government to action. Popular support is, indeed, the force which will enable us to win the vote, but that force will count for nothing unless it is utilised. It is true that, as the non-militant suffragists are fond of saying, our weapon is public opinion; but a weapon must be wielded or it might as well not exist. The public are ready to help us, but we must tell them how to do it; we must give them a lead.

### The Folly of Neutrality.

Now support of woman suffrage involves disapproval of the Government which withholds it, and therefore the men and women who believe in votes for women must be urged to oppose the present Government. To support a Government hostile to Woman Suffrage is to invite a continuance of that unsatisfactory policy. A neutral policy is no less mistaken, for it means an entire absence of pressure on the Government and causes the political parties to regard Woman Suffrage as a negligible factor in the political situation.

There are two methods of carrying out this anti-Government policy, and both are equally necessary. One can be adopted only by men, while the other is available for women. Men can make their attack upon the Government at the polling-booth. In such constituencies as are the scene of by-elections, they are able, without delay, to express their disapproval of the attitude of the present Government towards Woman's Suffrage. Others must wait till the General Election before they can act. They can, however, let it be known at once that a day of reckoning is in store for the Liberal party if, before the General Election comes, justice is not done to women. Such warnings, coupled with by-election defeats, will have their



effect on the attitude of the Government. No effort must be spared to make Woman Suffrage an issue at by-elections, for the question which interests the Prime Minister is not whether the electors are in favour of Women's Franchise, but whether they will withdraw their support from him if women's franchise is withheld.

There is no doubt that the electors can be persuaded to sacrifice party to principle by placing their votes for the time being at the service of the Woman Suffrage cause, but they will certainly not do so unless women themselves show earnestness and enthusiasm, and are prepared to make some sacrifice too. In fact, the women of this country will have to work out their own political salvation, and instead of contenting themselves with an appeal for the help of men, must rely mainly upon their own efforts.

#### The Need for Action.

In what way can women make that attack upon the Government which is necessary in order to break down the present opposition to their enfranchisement? It has been found by experience that mere talk will make no impression upon the party in power. Hard words break no bones, and the most eloquent speeches of appeal or of denunciation leave the Government unmoved, unless, of course, those speeches have the effect of influencing the electors. But words unaccompanied by deeds have little more effect upon the electors than they have upon the Government. It is action, and action alone, which really tells. Words are needed to announce and to explain deeds, but they do not supply the place of action. Even public meetings held by men have political significance only because it is understood that those who attend them will take action at the ballot-box, and meetings of women quite naturally fail to produce any effect unless it is known that the women present mean to do something if their demand is not conceded.

To this conclusion many women come with reluctance, because it means entering upon a stern and exacting political struggle. How much easier and pleasanter if the vote could be won by holding a series of meetings! But political liberty is not to be had so cheaply, and those who earnestly desire the vote must make up their minds to pay the required price, feeling thankful that in this country, in these modern days, the way of the reformer is comparatively easy. Light has been thrown on the situation and many illusions cleared away by the recent refusal of the Prime Minister to receive a deputation from the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies. This refusal comes in spite of the successful efforts made by that society to prove that the Suffrage Movement has the support of women, and if their non-militant policy is still to be adhered to, then the National Union is completely checkmated. It is possible, however, that they may realise that in relying entirely upon what they are pleased to call constitutional methods they have been misled by a fallacy. Constitutional methods are impossible for those who do not possess the constitutional weapon of the franchise. Voteless women can succeed only by resorting to those measures of which the disfranchised have always been obliged to avail themselves.

#### Discredit in Submission.

This does not mean that disfranchised women must at once go to the extremes to which other reformers have proceeded before now. From the earliest times until the days of the recent South African War, human life and property have been sacrificed in the cause of political enfranchisement. Deeds of such violence are almost inconceivable in connection with the women's movement for reform. Yet, at the same time,

vigorous protest is called for, and must be made. The women of the twentieth century would ill-deserve the wider opportunities won for them by the women of the past if they were to show themselves at the present moment too timid and too selfish to revolt against political subjection. It has been suggested that the Prime Minister wishes to discredit woman suffrage by encouraging militant methods of agitation. The Women's Social and Political Union believe, however, that the Government alone will be discredited by the adoption of such methods on the part of suffragists. Discredit to women lies in submission. The only honourable course to-day for women who want the vote is to take their stand by the side of the militant suffragists.

By way of excuse for holding aloof from the active movement some women are heard to say that they dislike violence, but so does every woman, and the most militant suffragist is resolved never to exceed by the smallest degree the amount of violence which may be necessary to overcome the resistance of the Government to women's enfranchisement. At present the active suffragists are more sinned against than sinning in this regard, for whereas their acts of resistance to the law have been of a technical character, the Government, by compelling women to undergo long terms of imprisonment, are doing violence to their mind, body, and nerve.

#### A Call to Women.

The degree of vigour with which the woman suffrage agitation must be waged is to be measured less by any ideal standard than by the strength of the Government's hostility to women's enfranchisement. The vote must be no longer denied, for too much depends upon its possession by the women of the country. Everything which proves necessary to compel the Government to yield must be done. Hence it will be seen that the leaders of the Liberal party are, in truth, responsible for the measures which they compel women to adopt.

It is for every woman at the present moment to ask herself whether her reluctance to join in the militant campaign is not due rather to care for self and dislike to run counter to the opinion of others than to a conscientious objection to the nature of the fighting work which is being done. Every suffragist should, for her own sake, be careful at the crisis which has now arisen in her political career, not to fail in her duty from want of courage and devotion to her cause. Whatever course of action she may decide to take, the success of the suffrage movement is assured, because already a sufficient number of women have nerved themselves to enter upon the necessary struggle for political freedom. The men and women of the future will be able to form a final judgment of the methods which are being used to win the emancipation of women, but we may be sure that their strongest condemnation will be reserved for those who let timidity or weakness of purpose interfere with the success of this cause.

Christabel Pankhurst.

#### MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

**W**OMEN in all parts of the country who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the National Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote.

There is no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give 1s. a year to cover postage.



## DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE PROVINCES.

### DEMONSTRATION AT NOTTINGHAM FOREST.

A great demonstration took place in Nottingham on Saturday, July 18, when the W.S.P.U. held a mass meeting, with eight platforms, from which most of the leaders of the movement spoke. From twenty to thirty thousand people were present, the great majority of whom were attentive and friendly, and the resolution calling upon the Government to grant Votes to Women at once was passed by an overwhelming majority.

At two of the platforms—those at which Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond spoke—a noisy gang of opponents clustered round, rendering hearing difficult, but the speakers proceeded in spite of the interruptions.

At the other platforms complete order prevailed, and when some of the noisy gang from round Mrs. Pankhurst's platform attempted to make a disturbance, they were promptly stopped by the audience.

The highest congratulations are due to Miss Nell Kenney and the splendid workers of the Nottingham Union, who are responsible for the success of the day.

The following account is taken from the "Nottingham Express":—

#### "NOTTINGHAM DAILY EXPRESS."

What the net results of the great "Votes for Women" demonstration on the Nottingham Forest on Saturday afternoon really were from the point of view of advancing the cause of woman's political enfranchisement it is difficult to say; but from the point of view of numbers and of general attentiveness the demonstration was remarkably successful.

One feature must have occasioned some encouragement to the energetic and resourceful promoters—namely, the lack of anything in the nature of masculine cynicism. Many of the twelve to fifteen thousand people who listened to the arguments of the twenty lady orators were probably attracted by curiosity and love of diversion; but, excluding one or two gangs of youths who indulged in a good deal of unintelligent hooliganism and foolish horseplay, the majority of the crowded audiences followed the speeches with evident interest, although, on the other hand, they were not aroused to any high degree of enthusiasm.

#### Striking Scene.

The scene inside the large area between the Grand Stand and the railings which form two sides of the triangle, was of the greatest animation. Over the expanse were dotted eight platforms, from which twenty lady speakers harangued the crowds on the injustice of dispossessing women of their political rights. Wearing hats trimmed with purple, white, and green ribbon—the colours of the Women's Social and Political Union—and belts and sashes of the same material, the lady orators displayed any amount of high-spirited energy and splendid resourcefulness, which, however, in one or two instances (notably at the platforms from which Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke) failed to quell the interruptions of the unruly element. Innumerable young ladies, wearing the familiar "Votes for Women" buttons and badges, and decorated with the Union's favours, found ready buyers for the official organ of the movement and other literature bearing on the question of woman suffrage.

There were a number of youths with squeakers and penny trumpets, but individually their scope for mischief was very limited owing to the size of most of the crowds. More serious, however, was the plan followed by some hundred and fifty young people, who in two or three gangs passed from one mass meeting to another, and in nearly every case effectively quietened the speaker. At the meetings addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Gladice Keevil the audiences were so dense, and held together so admirably, that the would-be obstructors were unable to get sufficiently near to cause serious interruption.

#### Mrs. Pankhurst.

No doubt on account of her position as the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union and as the initiator of the militant tactics, Mrs. Pankhurst was singled out by the worst element in the great crowd of people, and subjected to continuous interruption. It was in vain that she tried to make her voice heard above the din going on. When there was a temporary lull she pleaded for a fair hearing, but the only answer she received was the chorus of some popular song, and jeering and shouting continued throughout the time she was on her feet. Only now and again was she able to speak a completed sentence. Such conduct was

additionally discreditable by reason of the fact that Mrs. Pankhurst is one of the finest speakers in the "Votes for Women" movement.

#### Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Another very prominent member of the Union, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, also experienced a very warm time, but in her case she turned her back on the interrupters and addressed her remarks to the opposite section of the crowd. [The reporter was evidently under some mistake, as Mrs. Lawrence was practically uninterrupted.] She said that Mr. Asquith's recent pronouncement on the question of the enfranchisement of women was a worthless declaration; and, further, that his announcement that under certain conditions the Government would not oppose the moving of a woman suffrage amendment when the promised Reform Bill was introduced, was altogether unsatisfactory as far as the militant section of the woman's suffrage movement was concerned. Their claim, she said, was essentially a very reasonable one. They simply asked that the women who were fulfilling responsibilities equal to those of men should be placed on the roll of electors.

There was little that was new in any of the arguments, but they were presented with such delightful freshness and vivacity that the crowds, where the roughs were absent, were never bored or restive. At every platform the same claim was emphasised, the speakers swaying to and fro in the heat of their arguments, and impressing the various points on the minds of their hearers with emphatic blows of hand on hand. The granting of the franchise to women on the same terms, whatever they are or may be, as it is enjoyed by men. That was the whole of the argument. Presenting petitions and Parliamentary pirouetting, they urged, had proved abortive; constitutional agitation had failed to bring woman's enfranchisement into the arena of practical politics, and therefore the only alternative was to enter upon a militant propaganda. Mr. Israel Zangwill has said that he would not be adverse to the decisions of the House of Commons being revised by a House of Ladies instead of by a House of Lords, but on Saturday the ladies were particularly careful to show that there was no desire to occupy a position of superiority; "merely to be man's equal," one declared.

#### Mrs. Martel.

Mrs. Martel, whose platform was pitched close up to the railings, had a very attentive audience, and she created a very good impression with her account of the results following upon the enfranchisement of women in Australia. Mrs. Martel has a vote herself, and when she came to England on a visit in 1905 she threw in her lot with the "strident females," and has been one of their principal speakers ever since. Some of the other speakers were "General" Flora Drummond, Miss Annie Kenney, and Miss Nellie Kenney.

### DEMONSTRATION IN HEATON PARK, MANCHESTER

A brilliant day favoured the great demonstration on Sunday last in Heaton Park, and the enormous crowds which came from all the surrounding districts showed themselves fully appreciative of the occasion. Complete order and attention was manifest in every part of the great audience, and the resolution supporting the prisoners in Holloway, and calling upon the Government to do justice to women, was carried everywhere almost without opposition. The estimates of the local Press run from 50,000 to 150,000, and the latter figure is probably nearer the mark. Heaton Park is an immense area, and it was possible to arrange the 13 platforms a sufficient distance from one another so that there was no confusion of the speeches from the different platforms.

According to the account of the "Manchester Evening Chronicle," Mr. McElroy, manager of the Manchester Tramways, said that they had never had to deal with a crowd of such proportions, and in the same paper it is stated that there have never been before so many people gathered together in Heaton Park. We append some of the accounts appearing in the local Press:—

#### "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

Friends of the woman suffrage movement are entitled to reckon the great demonstration at Heaton Park yesterday, arranged by the Women's Social and Political Union, as somewhat of a triumph. With fine weather as an ally the women suffragists were able to bring together an immense body of people. These were not by any means all sympathisers with the object, and much service to the cause must have been rendered by merely collecting so many



people and talking over the subject with them. The organisation, too, was creditable to the promoters. The 13 platforms, or hurries, for the speakers, were for the most part on rising ground, and thus the ugly rushes which occasionally arise so easily among crowds without any ill intention were avoided. The police were few and inconspicuous.

The speakers went by special car to the Bury Old Road entrance, and were escorted by a few police to the several platforms. Here the escorts waited till the speaking was over, and then accompanied their respective charges back to the special car. There was little need, apparently, for the escort. Even the opponents of the suffrage claim who made themselves heard were perfectly friendly towards the speakers, and the only crowding about them as they left was that of curiosity on the part of those who wished to have a good look at the missionaries in the cause.

Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel and Miss Adela Pankhurst, were among those who excited most interest, especially on the part of enthusiasts who are proud of them as belonging to Manchester. Miss Mary Gawthorpe, too, was among the popular figures. She has earned a reputation as a witty speaker who scores off interruptions. But she is not the only one so successful. The constant campaigning has made smart speakers of all the active suffragists.

A few telling banners were displayed. One at the platform where Mrs. Pankhurst spoke bore the words "Manchester first in the fight." Another declared in great letters, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Over one platform appeared the striking characters, if only for size, "Where there's a will there's a way." One middle-aged person staring at the banner was heard murmuring absently to himself, "Where there's a woman there's a way." Altogether the demonstration was a great success. The great crowds which assembled at different places in the park must have totalled, on a modest estimate, fifty thousand people.

#### Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

As became one of the responsible leaders of the forward movement, Mrs. Pankhurst spoke very seriously at the principal platform, where the crowd was always greatest during the meeting. Like other speakers she began before the time announced (4 o'clock), anxious to be gaining ground with so fine an audience before her. Mrs. Pankhurst urged strongly that there was no reason in the refusal of a citizen's rights to a woman citizen because of her sex. If women had sufficient intelligence to earn their own living, to pay their rent, and obey the laws which 7½ millions of men in the country were making for them, surely in justice the vote should be given to them. In regard to the laws affecting women and children, marriage and divorce, women had a special right to make their voices heard. She did not accept the advice that women should wait till other matters of importance were decided in Parliament. For example, they were told to wait till a measure of temperance reform was passed. But they held that the women of this country were more interested in temperance than the men. Then they were to wait till an old-age pensions measure had become law. But there, again, they claimed that the measure would hardly benefit a single old woman because of the restrictions which were being put on the granting of the pension. The conditions of women's labour, she contended, also called for the making audible of woman's views. Then there was the protection of their sex. There should be something more than a law which only protected the virtue of the working-class girl up to the age of 16, whereas among the wealthier classes the mere property of a person was protected up to the age of 21. They claimed also that the interests of children demanded that women should have the vote. She asked people not to be prejudiced because two people had thrown two stones at the Prime Minister's windows. "The Prime Minister admitted that a majority of the House of Commons and three-fourths of the Cabinet wanted to do justice to women. Very well, then, Liberals who believed in majority rule ought to see that the majority in the party ruled. Mrs. Pankhurst was much cheered.

After other speakers had been heard, there were a few questions asked, one of which was as to women's vote in regard to questions of war. Mrs. Pankhurst pointedly replied that the interests of women in war or peace were as great as those of men. Their sufferings were often greater and demanded more bravery than was required of the men who were fighting. The men who died on the field did so at least with the fire of combat in their veins. But what of the courage needed by women who were left to be perhaps for long years the bread-winners for orphans whom the war made? Not for nothing had she been a guardian and registrar and come into contact with the widows of reservists who had fallen in battle during the Boer War.

#### The Resolution.

The following was the resolution, and it was the same as that submitted at other platforms:—

"This meeting expresses its sympathy with the prisoners now in Holloway, and calls upon the Government to enfranchise the women of the country on the same terms as men without further delay."

There were a good many listeners who did not vote for or against the resolution, but of those who did vote there was a great majority for the resolution.

#### Miss Gawthorpe and Questions.

When Miss Mary Gawthorpe was seen making her way across the centre of the demonstration ground a big crowd followed in her wake. This had grown to such proportions 20 minutes before the hour notified for the speaking to commence that she began at once, commenting cheerily upon the immensity of the assembly. "If it goes on increasing in the proportions it has developed during the last half-hour," she said "it will equal Hyde Park." In any event, she pointed out, it testified to the keenness of the interest the people of the country were now taking in the contention of women that as they took upon their shoulders a share of the burdens of life they should be allowed to share in the privileges of life. As she was proceeding to deal with the resolution in detail there was some commotion among a group of youths on the outskirts. Miss Gawthorpe was equal to the occasion. "I want the Press of the country," she appealed, "to be able to say that Lancashire knows how to behave itself if London doesn't. Be as jealous of this as I am, and then we shall get along beautifully." When the noise was repeated a few moments later she laughingly bade those in front to take no notice; "it is only our friends who are throwing the naughty ones out." Replying to a comment from a man in the audience, she admitted that the women suffragists had gone to prison for breaking the law, and that those were not the methods by which they would obtain votes. But they were methods by which they were getting hold of the ear of the country—as that demonstration proved. Referring next to Mr. Herbert Gladstone's statement that he could not interfere with the magistrates' orders in connection with the imprisonment of women, she asserted it was all nonsense, because, as a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone actually did interfere two years ago when women were sent to prison for "standing on chairs" in the lobby of the House of Commons.

While she was telling some experiences of the imprisoned women, and emphasising the need for reform in prison life, something like an attempt to "rush" the platform was made. The two or three policemen present interposed themselves, but the pressing continued until Miss Gawthorpe spoke some plain words. "Now, you young men," she said, "I don't want to scare you, but the police have their orders, and you will be run in if you don't behave yourselves. We have been run in for much less than that"—a remark which restored the good humour of even the belligerents. Miss Gawthorpe went on to point out that this movement was significant of much more than the vote. Women must be freed from their state of industrial, political, and social subjection.

#### Miss Annie Kenney.

Miss Annie Kenney, after an address which was listened to with hardly an interruption, answered a number of questions. One man rather inconsequently asked "Who are the ratepayers?" "Well," was the reply, "all we are asking is that those women who have paid for their vote should have it given to them without delay." A second drew attention to the law which sends a man to prison "for three months" for deserting his wife, but which does not provide for the imprisonment of a wife for deserting her husband. "We want equality all round and no privileges," was Miss Kenney's answer amid much laughter. "Where there is one law in favour of the woman there are ninety-nine not in her favour." The last question was "If a woman got three months for breaking a window, why should a man get twelve months?" "I have never seen a case of a man getting twelve months for breaking a widow," Miss Kenney replied, "but I have known a case of a man nearly kicking his wife to death and getting a fortnight or three weeks for it."

#### "MANCHESTER COURIER."

The greatest Suffragist demonstration held in the provinces took place yesterday afternoon in Heaton Park, when the fine weather tempted thousands to the neighbourhood of the circle of hurries which served as platforms for the speakers. A large number of special tramcars was put on all the routes to the Park, and the procession of crowded cars continued till well after 4 o'clock. From 13 platforms did these speakers urge "Votes for Women" to 13 separate crowds, the combined numbers of which were estimated by the police in attendance at one hundred and fifty thousand.



**"DAILY DISPATCH."***(Leading Article.)*

The person who always wants to know why anybody does anything will probably be puzzling over the enormous crowds at the suffragist demonstration in Heaton Park yesterday—for they were big enough to require quite a lot of explaining. The enthusiastic supporter of the movement would doubtless say that they went to utter the familiar demand; the cynic would probably declare that the majority went to contemplate the attractiveness of the speakers, and to be sure, one can imagine worse ways of spending a Sunday afternoon than by wandering round from platform to platform, losing one's self in admiration. But even the most hardened scoffer cannot deny that the movement is growing very rapidly. Whether we like it or not, it can only have one end. It is too big, and there is too much sheer enthusiasm in the ranks for failure to be even remotely possible. Of course, there are opponents, some of them very earnest ones, but they cannot between them all muster one-tenth of the absolute determination which in the convinced suffragist is a mere matter of course. These ladies hold a strong hand—a case which scarcely needs advocating, and powers of advocating it which put any male agitator in the shade. It is only a question of time.

*(From the Report of the Meeting.)*

The greatest women's suffrage demonstration yet organised outside London was held in Heaton Park yesterday afternoon.

For the most part the crowds were very orderly. The unruly methods of a number of boys, who, formed in single file, attempted to charge through the crowds, were quickly dealt with by the police; of whom a large number were on duty.

At most of the platforms the resolution was carried with much enthusiasm.

Although difficult to estimate the size of the crowd in the park, the numbers have been placed at 100,000.

**"MANCHESTER EVENING CHRONICLE."**

Yesterday's demonstration of the Suffragists at Heaton Park, Manchester, will be counted as a "landmark," not alone in their history, but in that of the park, for, on the authority of people who are accustomed to estimating the size of crowds, the broad green slopes have never accommodated so many people.

Everybody is well pleased—the Tramways Committee because of the tremendous traffic; the catering people because of the rush for teas; the police because there was no disorder; and the Suffragists because the crowd was big, not only in numbers, but in spirit.

The surprising feature to most of the speakers, particularly those accustomed to rough handling in the South, was the dignified and orderly attitude of the crowd.

Mr. McElroy, manager of the Manchester Tramways, chatting with an "Evening Chronicle" representative, said that they of the Tramways Office had never had to deal with a crowd of such vast proportions.

**PREPARATIONS FOR THE DAY.**

Particularly encouraging meetings were held at Withington; and at Hulme, where Mrs. Robinson's crowd was so great that it encroached on the tram lines, and as Mrs. Robinson has so recently appeared before the Manchester justices the police were soon on her track with suggestions of obstruction. Under the circumstances it was thought advisable to bring the meeting to a close.

On Wednesday evening the Manchester committee were "At Home" in the Onward Buildings, Deansgate, from 8 to 10 p.m., and the room was crowded. This was the final social rally before the really arduous work of the last three days' preparation. During a lull in the busy hum of these our human bees short speeches were given by Mrs. Robinson and by Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Witherington, president, being in the chair. Altogether the Wednesday "At Home" was a brilliant success.

On Friday morning our corps of "Votes for Women" sellers made a great raid on the Royal Exchange. Just before "high change," when hundreds of business men stand on the 'Change steps, with hundreds more in all the neighbouring streets, the corps, all wearing Heaton Park posters in the colours of the Union and carrying "Votes for Women," marched on the Exchange and commenced a vigorous sale. Although they had to "keep moving" by the orders of the police they did very well, and were snapshotted several times. Very good pictures appeared in the "Daily Dispatch" and in the "Evening Chronicle."

In the afternoon following on this excellent advertisement a well-attended and most sympathetic meeting specially intended for business men was held in the Coal Exchange. Mrs. Scott, in the chair, answered an objector who wanted to know "why the late Conservative Government hadn't been attacked." Mrs. Robinson reminded Manchester men of the city's reputation for being in the van of all reform movements, and that "what Manchester thinks to-day

England thinks to-morrow." Miss Mary Gawthorpe appealed to them as a matter of business, as well as in consideration of other claims, to see this thing through, and figures were given as to the turnover of the Union in its financial aspect.

Saturday was one crowded hour of glorious life. From an early hour the offices at 116, Portland-street, were busy with visits of members engaged in business most of the week seeking out their captains for final instructions. The chalkers' corps and the collectors' corps were busy in different parts of the city all day, and when a wire from Nottingham announced that the arrival of Mrs. Pankhurst and others might be expected at the London-road Station at 9.20 a further corps was despatched to "paint the city white" with the announcement. The public were invited to come to the short preparatory meeting in Stevenson-square at 8.30, when a procession would be formed to the station. Led by the now well-known "Votes for Women" waggonette, the crowd which actually did arrive at the station was tremendous, and completely blocked up the entries of the station to the temporary embarrassment of the railway officials, and it was with difficulty that the speakers for Sunday, having been shunted on to another platform than the one expected, were rescued by their hostesses and borne off in triumph to get a well-earned night's rest.

On Sunday morning at 10.20 at the same station Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, who has just this week been titled the "Nestor of the Woman Suffrage Movement," was met by members, and presented with a bouquet in the colours of the Union.

The details of the demonstration itself are given in another column. But mention must be made of the officials who superintended the proceedings. Mr. J. B. Seymour, chief banner captain, Mrs. Morris, chief platform captain, Miss Margaret Hewitt, chief of the collecting stewards, Miss Robinson, the head of the "Votes for Women" corps in action, to all of whom the success of the day is so largely due.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

**WEST OF ENGLAND REPORT.**

We start in real earnest to-morrow to work up our demonstration of September 19 on the Clifton Downs. I have written round to all friends asking for money to help to carry on the work in this part of the country, and have already received £1 from a Plymouth sympathiser and £1 from a Torquay sympathiser. A Bristol sympathiser has promised me a cheque later on. We have taken a committee room, and are getting ten Bristol people to pay 1s. a week to clear the rent.

I also want money to pay expenses of most valuable workers prepared to come and give their holidays. Miss Blathwayt, of Bath, is giving all her time to the work, and Miss Dorothy Pethick has done most valuable work, whilst I have been away in the by-election.

There are to be "At Homes" every Monday afternoon, from four to six, in the Hannah More Hall, Clifton. Every Tuesday the factories are being worked. Every Wednesday we are visiting the parks round Bristol, and every Thursday holding a meeting on the Downs. Fridays we hold a meeting on the Broad Quay, and on Saturdays we go to some place near Bristol and work them up for the 19th. Sunday so far is an open date.

Anyone who would like information about Bristol work should write me at 78, Alma-road, Clifton, Bristol.

Any teachers or other women who would like to help me in the West of England, I promise them a real splendid time in the work. We want to do great things, and want people to help us with their money, their time, and their energy. Anyone sending postal orders or cheques for the campaign in the West of England, please put on "West of England Campaign," as I am anxious to pay all expenses without having to call on the treasurer for money, and without sending money in. We want all the help we can get, that we may bring the West up to the North for numbers and enthusiasm. I don't think my appeal will be in vain, as I know many people are anxious for the West of England to be roused on this question, and it cannot be done without money, as money helps to buy advertisement, and thus bring more labourers into the field! So you people of the West country, I ask you to help me.

The meetings arranged for practically every day up to August 13 will be found included in the general Programme of Events on page 336.

ANNIE KENNEY.



## LOCAL NOTES.

**Birmingham W.S.P.U.**—Last Sunday we held a most successful meeting at Small Heath Park Gates, where hundreds of people collected and listened with great attention for over an hour and a-half. Miss Hazel took the chair, and I spoke and dealt with the question of woman's suffrage. We collected 9s., and sold all the VOTES FOR WOMEN paper that we had. By their questions the audience showed how real their interest was in the movement. We have held these meetings all through the summer, in addition to others on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday evenings. Much interest has been aroused by them, and our audiences are hoping that we shall be able to have a demonstration in September.

H. G. JONES.

**Bradford W.S.P.U.**—This week the weather has prevented us holding as many meetings as we had intended. A meeting was held at Calverley on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of advertising the Leeds Demonstration. Miss Steventon took the chair, and Miss Hartland spoke to a good audience.

On Thursday, in spite of the bad weather, a successful meeting was held at Church End, Tong-street. Mrs. Hall took the chair, and Miss Newton addressed a very interested crowd.

At our meeting at Guiseley on Wednesday, the 8th inst., Miss Hartland announced that we should come again and bring Miss A. Pankhurst one night this week, and a crowd of about 500 assembled the following Wednesday and waited patiently in the rain to hear Miss Pankhurst, although no advertising had been done and no mention of a meeting on that night had been made. Of course, as we had arranged to have the meeting on Saturday no Suffragettes appeared on the scene, much to the disappointment of the waiting crowd. However, on Saturday afternoon some of us went and chalked the meeting for the evening, and when Miss Newton mounted the top step of the village cross and commenced the meeting there were several hundred people assembled. Miss Pankhurst spoke for upwards of an hour to an attentive and sympathetic audience. We took a good collection, and sold five dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN, all our buttons and postcards, and a good deal of literature.

J. G. ROBERTS.

**Clapham and Battersea W.S.P.U.**—After a few days' hard work, chalking pavements, distributing thousands of handbills, and holding short meetings in different parts of Clapham, we held a great demonstration on Clapham Common Wednesday evening last. A very good account appears in the "Clapham Observer." In the words of the "South-Western Star," a local paper, an "enormous concourse of people assembled," and one could hardly see to the limits of the crowd so extensive was it. Looking from the platform, I should estimate the number of people at 30,000. Miss C. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Mrs. F. Drummond were the speakers, and, despite the usual noisy youths, the demonstration was a great success. Every copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN—600 in number—were sold, and a collection made. I wish to thank all those friends who so kindly came forward to help to make the demonstration so successful.

FRANCES C. BARTLETT.

**Chelsea W.S.P.U.**—On appeal from the members of this Union, on Monday, July 20, Mr. Horniman, the Liberal member for Chelsea, asked the Home Secretary if he would advise the transfer of Miss F. E. Haig and Miss Joachim (who are in Holloway) from the Second to the First Division for the remainder of their term of three months' imprisonment.

The Committee has decided to hold a meeting at the Town Hall to protest against the severe treatment of the prisoners. The date is not yet fixed, but friends, both men and women, wishing to show their sympathy are requested to send in their names at once to the Assistant Secretary, 51, Beaufort-mansions, Chelsea.

Five most successful open-air meetings have been held. Miss Naylor, Mrs. Tanner, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Berlon, and Miss Bromley have spoken for us. At the close of Mrs. Tanner's meeting the women came up to shake hands with the speaker. Thanks to the energy of the members of Wandsworth and Putney, the crowd at East Hill was the largest we have had. Forty-two copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold.

CHARLOTTE BLACKLOCK (Assistant Secretary).

**Coventry W.S.P.U.**—At a meeting held on July 10 a resolution was passed by the members of our Union expressing their admiration of the action taken by our secretary, Miss A. Lea, who incurred imprisonment for taking part in the demonstration in Parliament-square on June 30.

R. DAVIES (Hon. Secretary, *pro tem.*).

**Hull W.S.P.U.**—On Wednesday, July 15, a meeting was held in Oddfellows' Hall, Hull. The platform was very prettily decorated by Mr. Bramwell and Mrs. Scoriah, most of the plants being kindly lent by the former. The Hull banner was at the back of the speakers. After a few remarks by Miss Harrison, who took the

chair, a short speech was given by Miss Smith, acting honorary secretary. Then followed the speaker of the evening—Miss Adela Pankhurst. Her speech was splendid, and for over an hour she held her audience spellbound.

**Kensington W.S.P.U.**—The Committee wish to remind members and friends that they are now actively collecting material for the jumble sale. Some parcels have already reached us, and we hope all our friends will remember the sale when turning out their boxes before leaving home. All articles of dress and soft goods may be sent to Miss M. D. Home, 7, Palace-gardens-terrace, Kensington, and larger articles, with hardware, crockery, &c., should be sent to Mrs. Stratton, 113, Abingdon-road, Kensington.

The weekly "At Homes" will be held on July 22 and 29, and then discontinued until September 23.

All our staff of workers is now busily engaged in making known the Earl's Court Demonstration by means of bill distribution, special chalking parties, and open-air meetings, and two members are hiring a carriage to drive through the streets and the Park, displaying notices.

LOUISE M. EATES.

**Lewisham W.S.P.U.**—The event of this week was a reception held in a small hall on Friday, July 17, when our annual report was read by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. It reviewed the doings of the Union during the past year, and showed a balance of £5 4s. 4½d. on the right side. About 60 members and friends were present, and were agreeably surprised to find that Miss C. Pankhurst had accompanied Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Thus we were able to listen to two of our leaders, for, after business had been transacted, both ladies delivered stirring addresses, which were very much appreciated. Last year's committee and officers were re-elected, with the exception of Miss Bull, who resigned, and whose place was filled by Miss C. D. Townsend. Several new members were enlisted, our paper, literature, and badges were sold, and the collection more than covered all expenses in connection with the reception. On Sunday we had a fine meeting on Blackheath. Miss Auld spoke splendidly, and 49 VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold from the platform and in the crowd.

J. A. BOUVIER.

**London City W.S.P.U.**—I am pleased to report that our banner has, with the exception of about fifteen shillings, been paid for. This small balance we hope to clear within the next week by asking our members for the small contribution of threepence each. There will be the usual meeting next Thursday.

H. R. KERR (Secretary, *pro tem.*).

**Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.**—As Mr. Haldane was addressing a meeting in the Town Hall, East Ham, last Thursday, Mrs. Baldock and I went there. We distributed bills announcing our demonstration in Earl's Court, and held a splendid meeting, several hundred people being present. The meeting lasted an hour and a half, and there was not a single interruption, Mrs. Baldock being eagerly listened to.

KATHLEEN KENNEDY.

**Manchester W.S.P.U.**—A week of very hard work for the members of the Manchester Union has ended in a magnificent demonstration on Sunday. In every way the demonstration has been wonderful—in numbers, in orderliness, and in tone. Mrs. Elmy, who was along with me on the platform, said that the people not only listened with their minds but with their spirits. That is the keynote of my impressions of to-day—the enthusiastic and respectful attitude of the audiences round all thirteen platforms. We Manchester members feel proud of the result of our efforts, and of the fact that we have lived up to the traditions of the city, and that the people of Manchester showed in such a marked degree their appreciation of Mrs. Pankhurst's lifework in their midst.

ANNOT E. ROBINSON.

**Hammersmith W.S.P.U.**—An open-air meeting was held on Wednesday night at the corner of Caxton-road, Shepherd's Bush, when we had an excellent crowd to hear Mr. Colby, of Portland, Oregon, who worked for several years with Susan B. Anthony. A meeting of members and friends on Thursday at 4 p.m. was somewhat spoiled owing to the steady downpour of rain. Mrs. Colby again spoke, chiefly upon the good the women had done in those States of America where they have the vote. A visiting committee was formed, with Miss Bloomfield as secretary, which it is hoped will bring many sympathisers into closer touch with our branch. To help financially it has been suggested that we hold a jumble sale. Will all friends, when packing up for the holidays, kindly forward their old articles to the Secretary, W.S.P.U., care of Miss Haarbleicher, 32, Phoenix Lodge-mansions, Brook Green. It matters not how old or how small a thing it be, it will make a little money for the movement. Any old hats, pieces of lace, boots, clothing, bedding, old furniture—anything—send them along, and we'll find buyers. I would like to draw everyone's attention to the open-air meetings held by this Union (given in the Programme of Events). We want as many as possible to come and support the speaker and chairman.

L. C. CULLEN.



### Edinburgh W.S.P.U.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had their annual meeting here on Monday evening and all Tuesday. As most of our members still belong to the National, we thought it best to help them in their meetings in every way we could—advertising, stewarding, &c., &c.

On Tuesday afternoon Lady Steel gave a large garden party, where suffrage supporters of all kinds to the number of about 500 were present, and many conversions took place. On Wednesday we held our usual "At Home." A good collection was taken, and many small difficulties were discussed and overcome. Our offices are at 24, Shandwick-place, Edinburgh.

ESSON MAULE, Hon. Sec.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

July 15 to July 21.			
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Already acknowledged	13,834 7 3	Mrs. E. F. Adams	1 0 0
Dr. Rose Jordan	1 1 0	M. E.	1 0 0
Miss N. Crocker	2 0 0	Miss E. N. Davison	0 5 0
Miss K. Kenny	1 0 0	Miss M. M. Gibson	5 0 0
Mrs. E. Perhick Lawrence	10 0 0	Mrs. Urquhart	2 0 0
Mrs. Adshead	10 6	Dr. F. E. Gubb	0 5 0
Miss Wilcox	1 0	Miss H. Hye	0 10 0
Miss R. A. Hardy	5 0	Carrie and Annie	0 2 0
Mrs. Smith	2 0	Mrs. F. E. Brookes	0 10 0
Mrs. Thorpe	1 0 0	Miss E. M. Laughton	2 0 0
Miss O. Fergus (banner poles, &c.)	8 10	Mrs. Atkinson	1 0 0
Miss R. M. Butterworth	3 6	Mrs. Morison	1 0 0
Miss E. Hughes	1 0	Mrs. M. M. Hulme	0 5 0
Miss M. O'Sullivan	16 0	Miss E. G. Everest (Hyde Park banners)	5 12 0
Kensington W.S.P.U. (banner poles)	1 1 0	Miss B. Golden	0 10 0
Miss L. Johnson	1 0 0	Dr. Mary Gordon	5 0 0
Miss S. J. Hardy	0 5 0	Arnold	0 1 6
S. L. Hasluck, Esq.	1 1 0	Miss G. E. Crowdy	0 2 6
Mrs. Hasluck	3 3 0	Miss E. Crowdy	0 2 6
Mrs. K. Laverick	2 2 0	Mrs. Kennedy	0 10 0
Mrs. Dunn	1 1 0	Miss H. G. Lenanton	5 0 0
Miss M. Mathew	1 1 0	Mrs. R. Massy	1 0 0
Miss Wilkins	0 11 0	Anon.	1 0 0
Miss Hartland	1 0 0	Anon.	0 10 0
The Misses Newton	0 10 0	Miss M. Adler	2 2 0
Mrs. Mullineaux	0 7 0	Mrs. Campbell	5 0 0
Mrs. Eugenie Freeman	0 5 0	Lady Kuyvett	5 0 0
Mrs. V. McDougall	4 0 0	Anon.	1 0 0
The Misses Mitton	0 7 0	Mrs. East	0 10 0
Mrs. E. Pollexfen	3 0 0	Mrs. Baillie Guthrie	10 0 0
Mrs. Harrison-Broadley	2 0 0	Mrs. Emil Auerbach	5 0 0
Anon (per Miss K. Fitzgerald)	0 3 6	Mrs. W. T. Lamb	2 0 0
Miss K. Griffith	2 0 0	Mrs. Tyson	1 0 0
Per Mrs. Baldock (half profit on garden party held at 180, Romford-road, Forest Gate)	0 10 0	Mrs. A. M. Piercy	1 1 0
Mrs. J. Whitaker	0 5 0	Miss E. Mills	1 0 0
Miss B. Anderson	0 5 0	Late D x 2	0 10 0
Miss M. Forster	0 10 0	Mrs. Henry Phipps	50 0 0
Mrs. Woods	1 5 0	Madame G. W. Devot	1 0 0
Chelsea W.S.P.U. (Hyde Park banners)	1 5 6	J. H. Palmer, Esq.	0 10 0
Miss M. C. Cook	0 10 0	Anon (Fishguard)	0 10 0
		Mrs. A. B. Corben	20 0 0
		Membership postage fees	2 8 0
		Collections, &c.	920 14 1
			£14,944 14 2

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## PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to August 8 (as far as at present arranged).

July	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
Thur. 23	Kensington, Argyll Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Macaulay	5.45 p.m.
	Kensington, Warwick Gardens, Open Air Meeting	Miss Conolan, Miss Morrison	7 p.m.
	Colne	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	8 p.m.
	Armsley	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Chelsea Common	Miss Auld, Miss Higgins	7 p.m.
	Leicester, Market Square	Miss Keevil	8 p.m.
	Earlham, Conference, Small Hall	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Mrs. Hillier, Miss Ross	8 p.m.
Fri. 24	Liverpool, Wellington Column Nelson	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7.30 p.m.
	Aston, Witton Road	Dr. Jones, Miss Hazel, Mrs. Bessie Smith	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 4, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road	"The Committee" of Chelsea W.S.P.U.	7 p.m.
	Leicester, Market Square	Miss Keevil	7.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
Sat. 25	Earl's Court Exhibition, Six Platforms	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Drummond, and others	4 and 8.30
	Leicester	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
Sun. 26	Leeds, Demonstration, Woodhouse Moor	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Clapham Common	Miss Macaulay, Miss D. Smith	3 p.m.
	Battersea Park	Miss Kennedy, Miss D. Smith	7 p.m.
	Birmingham, Small Heath Park Gates	Dr. Jones, Miss Hazel	3 p.m.
Mon. 27	London, Queen's Hall, "At Home"	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	Rawtenstall	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	7 p.m.
	Leicester	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Birmingham, Gosta Green	Dr. Jones, Miss Hazel, Miss C. A. Neale	7 p.m.
	Bristol, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	4 p.m.
Tues. 28	Liverpool, 36, Oxford Street, Business Meeting	...	8 p.m.
	Hastings	Mrs. Baines	
	Leicester	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Birmingham, Saltley	Dr. Jones, Miss Hazel	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 29	Kensington, "At Home"	"The Committee" of Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6
	Leicester	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Stepney Green	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	7.30 p.m.
	Shepherd's Bush, Railway Approach, Goldhawk Road	Miss Brackenbury	7 p.m.
	Bristol, Eastville Park	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Thur. 30	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Drummond and others	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Argyll Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Brackenbury, Miss Macaulay	5.45 p.m.
	Kensington, King Street, Open Air Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp	7 p.m.
	Leicester, Demonstration	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney, Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 31	Holloway, Release of the Prisoners	...	8 a.m.
	Queen's Hall, Complimentary Breakfast	Tickets, 2s.	9.15 a.m.
	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
	Aston, Witton Road	Dr. Jones, Miss Hazel, Mrs. Bessie Smith	7.30 p.m.
Aug. 1	Clevedon Sands	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Mon. 3	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	4-6
Wed. 5	Bristol, Harfield Park, Stapleton	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Thur. 6	Clifton, Durdham Downs	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 7	Bristol, Broad Quay	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 8	Portishead	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Dorothy Pethick	7.30 p.m.

## IMPORTANT FUTURE DEMONSTRATION.

Bristol, Clifton Downs ..... Sept. 19

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